

[7.]

# A S E R M O N P R E A C H E D.

Before the KINGS most Excellent  
M A J E S T I E, in the Cathedrall  
Church of D U R H A M.

Upon Sunday, being the fifth day  
of May. 1 6 3 9.

By the Right Reverend Father in God,  
T H O M A S Lord Bishop  
of D U R E S M E. *Morton.*

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## ROM. XIII. I.

*Let every soul be subject to the bigger*  
POWERS.

**T**His argument of *Subjection* is the subject matter of the Epistle for this day, 1. *Pet.* 2. which I have transferred to this Text of *S. Paul*, only for more apt method and manifestation sake, which how seasonable it is, for the occasions of this unseasonable and dismall time, alas! it is too evident: a Time, I say, wherein the *seditious Faction* professeth forcible *Resistance* against *Soveraignty*, for *defence of Religion*. Now therfore this text being a divine *Canon* of *Christian Subjection*, it will be easie hereby (through Gods assistance) to pull off the vizard of pretence of *Religion* from the visage and face of

A 2

Rebel-

(2)

*Rebellion* it self. I propound to my self this Theme to be discussed, to wit, *That arms are not to be taken up by Subjects, for defence of Religion: for the Canon it self teacheth us, 1. Who is the Subject; [Let EVERIE SOVL be Subject.] 2. To whom; [To the higher POWERS.] 3. The why, [For there is no power but of GOD, and the powers that be, are of GOD.]* Next, because Contraries, being compared together, illustrate each other, the Apostle useth this art; for having prescribed *Subjection*, he delivereth the Contrary, which he calleth *Resistance*, [Whosoever resisteth.] This he sheweth what it is, both in the heinousnesse of the *Crime*, [He resisteth the Ordinance of GOD:] and also in the dreadfulnesse of the *Judgement*, [He shall receive to himself DAMNATION.] These are the five stages of our future proceeding, which I therefore so name, because my purpose is (God willing) to hasten thorow them wth all convenient \*speed.

\* And so it was then, the shortnes

of an hour requiring it: but now the Sermon is enlarged; for the better satisfaction of the Reader, and that by Royall command.

I. Part,



I. Part, VWho, [*Every soul.*]

**E***Very soul.*] By *Soul* understanding (by a Senechdoche, as all know) the whole person of man, as often else-where in holy Writ. But what, *Every soul subject*? Not I, saith the *Pope*, and so all Popes of after-times, for we have power over all *Powers*, be they *Emperours* themselves, to kick off their Crowns with our feet; to depose their persons, and to dispose of their kingdoms. Nor we, say the *Popish Clergy*, for our function is *spirituall*, and therefore doth in it self, in all cases, challenge *Exemption*. Nor we, say the *seditionous Conspirators*, in the case of defence of our religion.

I have therefore joyned the *Romish*, and these other *Faction*s together, that it may be known, that although the *Romish*, and the Church of *Scotland*, whereof these *Conspirators* would be members, do dissent in *Religion*, nolesse then *Antiquity* and *Novelty* (for those points, whereof the new *Romane Church* have made a new Creed of mo then X: I. new Articles of Faith) and differ also as much in some parts of Gods worship, as *Religious* from *Superstitious* and *Idolatrous*: notwithstanding they

A 3

agree.

agree in this one Conclusion of professing *violent Resistance*, for defence of Religion; and in

\* Principles which have been collected out of the Books of the Romish sect, and papers of the Conspirators, received from an authentic hand of an honourable Lord in Scotland, and intitled, *The times require that the points following be pressed upon the people, &c.*

the most \*Principles conducing thereunto: insomuch that the Conspirators, who otherwise hate our Church Ceremonies (albeit most Indifferent, and in use

*Laudable*) even because they seem to them *Papistical*; do neverthelesse, for confirming their seditious Conclusions, alleadge; saying in these very termes; *The Papists are witnesses, &c.*

Howbeit this Canon doth, in effect, give them both the lie, because the word *Soul* signifieth the whole man; and seeing there is no man either so *Spiritual*, or *Secular*, but he hath an immortall *Soul*, incorporate in a mortall body; it must follow that every man is obliged both body and soul to subject himself to the *Higher Powers*. And what *Powers* these are, the Context pointeth out by their Symbol and Ensigne, namely of him that *carieth the sword*, even the temporall Magistrate.

And that this doctrine was both professed and practised thorowout the whole Christian Church for above 600. yeers, is manifoldly manifested by Evidences registred in all Ecclesiasticall

clesiasticall Records, whether they concern the *Greek* or *Romane Church*. But we, at this present, may content our selves with two kinds, one from the Greeks, even in their \* *Commentaries* upon this Text [ *Let every soule, &c.* ]

That is, say they, *Every Apostle, Evangelist, Prophet, &c.* If every *apostle* must be subject, then *Peter*, then his *Successor*, (every *Pope*) then every *Popish Ecclesiastick*. As for the *Secular*, it followeth in *Chrysostome*, *ὅτις οὖν* &c. Every other *whosoever, &c.* Which is an acknowledged truth even of their own *Essensaus*, saying,

\* *What Greek authors did not hold, that the apostle hereby taught, that all the faithfull were to be subject to worldly Governours?*

*ius, &c.* — ut tenet Chrysost. Euthem. Theod. & qui non Græci? Espen. in Tit. 3. 1. digress. 17. pag. 5. 13. Paris Anno 1568.

\* Chrysost.  
and after  
him, Theod.  
Euthem.  
Occum.  
Theoph.

\* Apostolus  
docet omnes  
credentes  
mundi Po-  
testatibus  
esse subje-  
ctos, nempe,  
sive Aposto-  
in Tit. 3. 1.

I I. Concerning the *Romane Church*, what need more then the \* *epistles* of ancient *Popes*, yet extant, which they writ to the *Emperours* of their severall ages for above 700 yeers, all \* agreeable to the stile of *Pope Gregory* the first, surnamed the *Great*, in his *Epistle* unto

\* *Epistles*,  
which are  
recorded by  
*Binius*, as  
of *Pope*  
*Leo* the first,  
*Epist.* 26.  
& 35. of  
*Simplicius*

the first, *Ep.* 4. of *Felix* the third, *Ep.* 2. of *Anastasius* the first, *Ep.* 78. of *Pelagius* the first, *Ep.* 16. These before *Gregory*, and after him *Martinus* the first, *Ep.* 3. *Agatho* the first, *Ep.* ad *Herachum*, *Hadrian* the first, *Ep.* ad *Constant.* Anno 770. \* As is to be seen in my book intituled, *Causa Regia*.

the

\*Greg. lib. 2  
Epi. 21.

the Emperour *Mauritius*, one somewhat vexatious unto him, after this tenour, \**Ego indignus famulus tuus Iussioni tue subiectus. i. I your unworthy servant am subiect to your command.* Here you hear his profession, will you see it in his practise? The same holy Pope being commanded by the same Emperour to proclaim an Edict, which although *Gregory* thought it to be unlawfull in it self, yet held it necessary for himself to publish it thorowout his Diocese; that done, he rendreth the Emperour this his account, \**Serenissimis Iussionibus tuis obedientiam præbui. i. I have obeyed your Majesties commands.*

\*Idem ibid.  
Ep. 32.

\*Rom. 1. 7

As for the other *Romane*, both *People* and *Clergie*, one would think that the dedication of this Epistle [*To the Romanes*] might instruct them to know their duties, thus, \**To all that are at Rome, beloved of God, called Saints.* What? (even this *Canon* as well as any of the Epistle els) [*Let every soul be subiect to the higher Powers.*] Thus, Then, but contrarily Now; and therefore so much is the Church of *Rome*, in point of Subjection, degenerated from it self, so farre as that (divers hundred yeers after this Pope *Gregory*) when the Archbishop of  
Sens

(7)

*Sens* in France challenged the priviledge of Immunitie from all subjection to the King, he was encountered by *S. Bernard*, and arrested by vertue of this Canon of [*Omnis anima*] saying, *Forget you what is written? Let every soule be subject to the higher powers. [Qui te tentat excipere, tentat decipere.] i. He that seeks to exempt, doth but labour to delude and seduce you.* Finally, when as the Pastors of the Church Catholike performed Subjection themselves, for more then 600. yeers after Christ, it can be no question but they catechised their people in the same Canon and Article of Christian loyalty. This case being so plain, that any man may understand the necessitiy of subjection in *Every man*, our next Quære must be, *To Whom?* and the Canon saith in the next,

Bern. Ep.  
ad Epi. Se-  
nonensem.

## II. Part. [*To the higher Powers.*]

**T**Here were almost in all ages of the world divers kindes of *Powers* and *Governments*, which I need not rehearse, but the principall ever was the *Monarchicall*; whether it were by *Conquest*, *Election*, *Inheritance* (as the firmest) or otherwise: and in the *Monarchi-*

B

call

call have alwayes been divers degrees of Powers yet so, that one was *Supreme*, and the other *Subordinate*; which *S. Peter* doth distinctly expresse, \**Be ye subject to the King* <sup>as to the Supreme</sup> as to the *Supreme*: And to (his) *Governours*, as them that are sent of him. I should now proceed, but the Conspiratours do interrupt me, laying, *That a difference would be put between private persons, taking arms for Resistance; and inferiour Magistrates, Judges, Counsellors, Nobles, Peers of the land, Barons, Burgessees, &c.* where they confesse, that the Magistrates, Judges, Nobles, &c. are all *Inferiour* to the *King*: and yet argue, from the *Combination* of all these, for *Resistance* by arms. Now hearken we to the Canon, [ *Let Every soul be subject to the Higher Powers* ] but *Inferiors* are under the *Monarch*, as the *Higher*, and so are they confounded out of their own mouthes. But they and the *Romish* descend yet lower, as we shall finde, in discussing the Reason *Why* we ought to be subject to the *Higher powers*, which is the next Point, And;

IPI. Part.

### III. Part, [*For there is no Power but of God: the Powers that be are ordained of God.*]

**T**herefore it is plain (say we) God requireth a loyall *Subjection*. Here again both the *Romish Seducers*, and these *Conspirators* conspire together in defence of another *Principle*, to wit, When they have no power of Resistance in themselves, then to envenome and intoxicate the braines of the people with an opinion that the Power is in them to *Resist* by violence, when there shall be *Occasion*. So

say the *Romish*, but why? because, forsooth, \* *Majestie is seated in the people, because the Princes are made by consent of the People*, and because St. *Peter* calleth them *Humane Creatures*. Accordingly the *Conspirators*, as if they meant to be the disciples of *Papists*; their words are  
 “these: *The people originally make the Magistrate,*  
 “and not the *Magistrate the people*. And (all this being supposed) their conclusion is, for *Defence of Religion* against *Magistrates* by the power of

\* Parsons in his Dolman, the French Jes. Lib. de jure Abdicacionis; *Majestas regis sita est magis in populo, quam in persona Regis.* Pag. 36. D. cymus Non populus in Principum gratiam factus sed

*Principes in populi gratiam creati.* Rainoldus de justa Auctoritate; *Rex human. creatura est; quia ab hominibus constituta.* The moderate Answer to Doctor Morton; People made election of Kings, &c.



the People. Then which there could not be uttered a more *fond, false or pernicious* Conclusion, as the Canon it self will shew from point to point.

I. *Fond*, for what saith the Canon? *The powers that be are* *τεταγμένοι*, *ordained of God*, that is, orderly constituted: but if, when the People have constituted a Ruler over them, there remaineth in them a power dormant, upon Occasion, to over-rule, and un-king, and un-make him, to whom they are *Subjects*; this were as unorderly and ougly a confusednes, in the Bodie politique, as it would be in the body naturall to stand on it's head with the heels upwards. Their other Objection is out of *S. Peter*, for calling Magistracie an *Humane creature*, because of the Choise of the People; as if therefore by it the same humane and popular libertie might be dissolved; it is frivolous, because *S. Peter* addeth there, Be ye subject unto (the same) *humane Creature, for the Lords sake.*

II. If the Doctrine be *fond*, it must needs be *false*, and that more evidently by that which shalbe opposed against it in the Canon, which saith, *αἱ δυνάμεις ἔξουσιαι* *The powers that be are of God:* [*Powers that be*] Are they then once established: then



## ( II )

then whatsoever the Government be, they are of God, God owneth them, they may not be disturbed. For as silver, whilest it is mere Plate, if it be tendred for exchange, may be either taken, or not, by the partie to whom it is offered: but if it once receive the Kings stampe, and be coyned, it is currant money, and may not be refused. Or as Acts of Parliament, whilest they are but voted, are but only *Consents*, but after they have the Kings Royall assent, they become *Statutes*, which may not be transgressed. So is it in governments; as soon as any is *κτισθαι ἀνθρώπου* created by man (as S. Peter calleth it) it becometh (thus Saint Paul) *ἐκταγμένη τῷ θεῷ* Gods ordinance, and may not be Resisted.

This Lesson our Saviour Christ taught all Christians, by his own example, who although he were Lord of lords, and King of kings; yet making himself (as man) subject to higher Powers, he would acknowledge them, both in the Supreme Magistrate, and therefore he paid \* *Tribute to Caesar*: and in his Deputy *Pilate*, as Subordinate, to whom he giveth testimonie of his divine right, that he had his Power from above, namely from God. Which thing is

\* Matt. 17.  
27.

Joh. 19. 11.

\* Royard in  
dom. in 1.

Advent. Re-  
ge constituto,

non potest populus jugum Subjectionis repellere. Et Cunctis libere Offic. Principis; Si-  
ve electione, siue postulatione, vel successione, vel belli jure Princeps fiat, Principi tamen  
facto divinitus potestas adest.

so evident, that some \* Popish Divines could  
not but perceive it.

Lastly here is made visible the Pernitiously-  
nesse of this Infatuation by the *measures* in the  
fourth verse, [ *He carrieth the sword,* ] to wit, One  
chiefe Governor, but One sword: for albeit there  
be Governours under Governours, more or  
fewer, yet because the *Subordinate* are de-  
pendant, All upon the *chiefe One*, and doe exe-  
cute capitall punishment in the name and  
authority of the *Highest*, All are accounted but  
One sword; and *Subalterna non contradicunt*. But  
when as the people shall be making forceable  
*Resistance*, there must be clashing of sword a-  
gainst sword. Nay, and by this their learning,  
which we now hear, the *Sword* is wrested out  
of the hand of the *King*, & put into the power  
of the *People*, that is, into the hand of a *Mad  
man*. I have said this, and have good warrant  
for it; for when King *David*, in the like case,  
—— ( like Case? nay never was the like Case  
heard of, namely, that a King was so injuri-  
ously *cheated* of a Kingdome ) when King *Da-*  
*vid*

vid, I say, was delivered from the Contradiction of his people, he giveth thanks to God, that as he \* *Stilled the raging waves of the Sea, so he repressed the Tumults of the People.* Comparing hereby the Tumultuousnesse of the People to the Raging waves of the Sea; and is therefore translated in our Church-book more emphatically, *The madnesse of the People.* O mercifull, and powerfull God! grant, we beseech thee, the like experience of thy deliverance, out of the outrageous Contradiction of the people, unto our gracious Sovereign, that He may likewise praise thee, the Lord of hosts, in the great Congregation! I proceed unto the Contrariety to Loyall Subjection, which is called *Resistance* in the

IV. Part of this Canon; [*Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.*]

IN these words you may perceive an Act, Which is *Resistance* of Magistracie, and the Crime therein, which is *Resisting the ordinance of God.* It is not, He that obeyeth not, but, [*He that resisteth:*] for there may be a lawfull, yea and a necessary not-Obeying, as whensoever the

immortall

immortall God shall *Command* any thing, and any power on earth shal give it a *Countermand*, then must the Law of the earthen and mortall God be rejected justly. To this purpose the Example of *Daniel* is registred in holy writ. A law was signed by king *Darius*, that none should make any *Petition* to God, for certain dayes. *Daniel* disobeyeth this law, he is cast to the lions to be devoured, he is delivered by Gods Angel: *Darius* congratulateth his deliverance, and *Daniel* justifieth his former Disobedience, saying, *Vnto thee, O King, have I done no hurt.* Kings are not to think it any injury, or derogation to their Royalty, that the King of Kings be rather obeyed.

Dan. 6.

King *Solomon* saw the Equity hereof, when distinguishing of *Heights of powers* (in the case of oppression of the people by unjust Judges) he said, *There is higher then they*: meaning the King, whom in that respect also he calleth *The Highest on earth*, to whom the Subject might appeal: but if the King will not, then to know that there is one *Higher then the Highest*, even God. Thereby teaching *Inferiours* that they must still vail to the *Highest*. And our *Canon*, which will have us subject to the *Higher Powers*,

Ecclef. 5. 8.

ers, before the *lower* among men, doth by *Analogie* instruct us principally to be Subject to that *Higher Power*, by whom these *Powers* are, namely (as saith the Canon) *By the Ordinance of God*. A case clearly resolved long since by the Apostles; for Christ had commanded his Disciples, to goe, and teach in his Name; the Jewish Sanhedrin inhibiteth them, saying, \* *Teach no more in that name*: they rejoyne, *Whether it be better to obey God or Man, judge you*. An answer so Rationall, Conscionable, and Irrefragable, by referring it to the Judgement and Conscience of whatsoever Adversary, that had any knowledge of God, as that it was an impregnable convincement. But we never reade of a lawfull *Resistance* to Governours, whereof the Canon here speaketh; for it is called a *Resistance of Powers*, and therefore it intimateth and withall condemneth a Powerfull violent *Resistance*, whether it be made by Persons invaded, or else by Persons invading; for these two are to be differenced.

The *Conspirators* (whatsoever else they might inwardly intend) doe openly professe not to use any violence by Armes, untill they shall be *invaded*: and therefore it is, that they

C

palliate

palliate this their Opposition with the name of a *Defensive Resistance*; repeating againe and againe the word, *Defence*. Hereupon I am compelled to take up that Out-cry of *Tully* against *Tubero*, for bringing men into the field, armed with Speares and Swords, *Quis sensus armorum?* (saith he.) What other meaning can mortall *Weapons* have then mortall wounds? except the *Conspirators* would have us thinke, that there is more mercy in Muskets and Cannons, then there could be in Swords and Speares: or that, if our *King* should be constrained (which God forbid!) to dispute his Right by Armes, they would defend themselves without blowes and bloodshed. It will be no excuse for them, that there is a Generation more rebellious then they, who *invade* before they be *invaded*, and that also in pretence of *Religion*.

These I need not name, they are to all the world so visible, both by *publike Invasions*, and *treacherous Assassinations*. For it is needlesse to reckon up unto you the Romish often machinations to raise publike Insurrections: the Curse of God upon the last *Northerne Rebellion* is felt of this Countrey Inhabitants even at this Day.

Day. As for Assassins, by Popish and Jesuiticall Suggesters, the miseries of *France*, and horror at the sight of their *Kings*, wallowing in their gore-blood; the joy of *England*, for Gods manifold and miraculous Deliverances to our last *Queene*, and *King* of blessed memory, together with the whole State of this *Kingdome*, do fully proclaime. O that both these Spirits of Rebelliousnesse would now at the last abhorre the mischief of all *violent Resistance*, by Consideration of the Grievousnesse of the Crime! which in the next place is to be spoken of, [*He that resisteth the Power,*] what?

[*Resisteth the Ordinance of God*] That is, Resisteth God himselfe.

**W**Hence we collect a Condemnation both of *Actuall Resistance*, and an *Habituall Purpose of Resisting*. Touching the former, both the *Romish Seducers* and the *Conspirators* oppose, affirming and teaching, *viz.* If that Kings shall proove either Tyrants to their owne people, or else Persecuters of the Professors of Religion, then Subjects may arme themselves, and make hostile Resistance.



This Doctrine is most notorious in the Romish Schooles: The *Conspirators*, inspired with the same Spirit, will needs be thought to have an advantage from the verses following, because the *Subjection*, here required, is prescribed in behalte of *Governors*, who are said to be such *Rulers*, who are not a *Terrour* to Good workers, but to *Evill*: who are *Ministers of God for Good*, and *Revengers* to execute *Vengeance* on them that doe " *Evill*. Hence the *Conspirators*; But *Tyranny* " and unjust violence (say they) is not the Ordinance " of God, and he that resisteth it, resisteth not the " Ordinance of God: for such *Rulers* are a *Terrour* " to good *Workers*, but not to *Evill*. And the whole " course of the *Apostles Argument* runs against Resistance of lawfull power, commanding things good. " We must therefore acknowledge *Tyranny* to be the " Ordinance of God, and for good, or extrude it from " the *Apostles argument*. Thus we see the *Ministers* among the *Conspirators*, as *Drummers* in the Campe, strike up their *Alarme* to war and violence, and bewitch mens soules with that *Sophistication*, which is called *Ignoratio Elenchi*. And this *Poyson* likewise they have suckt out of the quills of *Romish Sophisters*. That this may appeare to very *Novices* in Religion, I shall give



give to our Adversaries their foure Objections  
foure punctuall Answers.

The first is, That the *Powers*, to whom *Subjection* is required, by this *Canon*, were indeed *Tyrants* to their owne Subjects, and *Persecuters* of the Christian Professors. For were not these *Powers* heathen *Governors*? were not the most of them cruell *Tyrants*? were they not all professed enemies to the Christian faith? And *Persecuters* of the Professors thereof? This cannot be denied; but if any mans ignorance should gainsay it, we might instance in the Emperour *Nero*, who was the *highest Power* in the world at this time. He, after the fift yeare of his Empire, became so bloody a *Tyrant*, even to his owne heathenish people, that they branded him with the blacke marke of a *Monster*. And he was so vile and violent an Opposer of Christian Religion, that his Raigne hath beene registred ever since by Christians to have beene their *First fierie persecution*; whereof the holy Pen-man of this Epistle felt some sparkles: for *Ephes. 3.* he displayeth himselfe, saying, *I Paul a Prisoner of Iesus Christ*. Whence was that Epistle written? the Subscription thereof saith, *From Rome*. And the like we read in the Epistle

to *Pbilemm*. All this notwithstanding, *S. Paul* requireth *Subjection* to this, and to all Other never so Tyrannous Governours. With what front or face then could these Romish, and other Seducers distort this Text, for prooffe of a Rebellious Conclusion?

Their second *Ignorance* (if yet it may be called *Ignorance*) is, that they discern not this "their inconsequence, viz. *The Canon exacteth* " *subjection to Governours that are no Terror to* " *good Workers. Ergo, To those that are a Ter-* " *ror to good Workers, they owe no Subjection.* Just as if, in Chatechizing Children in their duty to their Parents, they should instruct them, saying, Divine Scripture commandeth you to reverence your Parents, who bring you up in the feare of the Lord: *Ergo* if your Parents shall vexe you, in your good Doings, you must not yeeld any Reverence unto them.

Thirdly, they will not see, that there is a temporall Good redounding unto Subjects, even under most tyrannous Governours. I say againe, They will not see it, who name *Calvin*, as standing for them: but onely name him, alleaging no place. Now, will any doubt but that when they argued from this Text, they did

did consult with Calvin upon it, then whom (upon this place) they could not have a greater Adversarie? He saith, indeed, that the Text requireth *Subiection to Governours*, for the Good-*sake* that *Government* bringeth: but doth hee contrarily conclude a *no subiection*, if they shall peradventure degenerate and turne *Tyrants*? His words are, \* *Etiam si non raro degenerant, qui Principatum tenent, nihilominus deferenda est eis Obedientia, quæ principibus debetur.* That is, *Although they should degenerate from the office of good Magistrates, yet is the Obedience due unto Princes to be performed to them.* But our Conspirators acknowledge no Good in the Government of any *Tyrant*; notwithstanding that, Calvin instructeth his Reader in this point also, \* *Quamquam nè sic quidem abutuntur potestate suâ Principes, bonos innocentésque vexando, ut non aliquandò ex parte speciem aliquam justæ dominationis retineant. Nulla ergo Tyrannis esse potest, quæ non aliquâ ex parte subsidio sit, ad tuendam hominum Societatem.* This his judgement is worth the translating. Nevertbelesse (saith he) *Princes*, in vexing good and innocent Subjects, doe not so farre abuse their authority, but that they preserve some part of just Government. Therefore there can be no Tyranny;

\* Calvin  
in locum.

\* Ibid.

*Tyranny, which may not in some degree be an Helpe and Aid to the Common-weale.*

So Peter Martyr, commenting upon the same Text, hath these words; *Nisi Tyranni sevisſimi aliquam habeant rationem juris, potenti- am illam suam retinere non possent.* And it is very true; for if Tyrants should not uphold the publike Justice and Peace, in some degree, they themselves could not subsist or support themselves. He instanceth in Nero, *Cum ipse Imperio suo opprimeret orbem terrarum, tamen jus dicebatur, nec vis legum funditus eversa erat e rebus humanis.* The difference therefore, in this Case, between the Incendiaries and Calvin, is no more nor lesse then this; They say that the Argument of the Apostle *Extrudeth* (it is their own word) *Subjection to Tyrannous Governours*: But Hee denyeth this. And they reject the said Governours, as if they were void of all publike Justice: But He saith, there was never any such Tyranny heard of.

A fourth Crotchet they have, namely, that  
 “ If we be Subject to Tyrants, then must we confesse  
 “ that Tyrannie is the Ordinance of God. So they  
 collect, for want of Spectacles, for so may we  
 call a Distinction; *Ordinatio Commissionis &*  
*Per.*

*Permissio*; one and the same man having Both: *Nero* a King, by Gods Ordinance of *Commission*; the same *Nero* a Tyrant, by Gods *Permission*; yet *Permission* not *Speculative* only, but *Ordinative*, which useth a Tyrant for to bee his *Flagellum*; A whip for scourging the Wicked, as Scripture teacheth; and as God himselfe avoucheth of himselfe, by his Prophet, saying, \* *I gave them a King in my wrath.* \* *Ose 13. 11.* Take you, for instance, unjust *Pilate*, (of whom you have heard) who albeit, by Gods *Permission*, an unjust Governour, yet is acknowledged to be, by Gods *Commission* and *Ordinance*, a Governour, as one \* *having his power from Above.* \* *Joh 19. 11.* And thus is the maine Fort and Bulwark of both the Romish and Seditious Conspirators utterly demolished, touching *Actuall Resistance*, even against Tyrants themselves; how much more against the *Nursing Father* of our Church, who is no way liable to so wicked an Imputation, as will hereafter appeare. The second kinde of *Resistance* is that which we called *Habituall*, in a purpose of *Resisting*; of which now.

This I note, because of another notorious Principle, held by both our Conspirators.

D

For

For the *Romish*, They allow their Professours  
 Sometime to performe Subjection to Protestant  
 Princes, but it is under this Parenthesis of onely

\* *Sic Cautio adhibenda, ut vires  
 habeant ad hoc idemque subditi,  
 alioqui in Religione Catholica  
 præjudicium cederet.* Creswell  
 in his Philopater. Againe,  
*Subditi Obedientiam suam præ-  
 beant Regine pro præfati re-  
 rum statu. Ibid. Modovires eis  
 suppetunt.* Barnes in Thom.  
 2. qu. 12. Art. 2. So also o-  
 theirs of them.

\*(The Case thus standing: and, Un-  
 till there bee force to resist.) Which  
 Lesson the Conspirators may seeme  
 to have learned, who, whilest they  
 wanted force, stood upon good  
 termes of peace and Subjection: but  
 no sooner were they furnished

with Armes, but they began to threat; which  
 is as wilde and vile a piece of Learning as the  
 former, and commeth now to bee Confuted  
 both by Text and Context.

The Text saith (*Omnis Anima*,) Let every  
 Soule be subject: the Reason why the Denomi-  
 nation of the whole man is given (*Anima*) to  
 the Soule (as *Aquinas* glosseth) is, Because Sub-  
 jection should bee (*ex animo*.) Secondly, It is cal-  
 led the Ordinance of God, who is the searcher of  
 the Heart, because he saith, concerning Obe-  
 dience to himselfe, Give mee thy Heart. And  
 that he will have as due Subjection to cruell Go-  
 vernours, as Obedience of Servants to their fro-  
 ward Masters, none will make question. But  
 concerning the duty of Servants towards their  
 Masters,

Masters, Saint Peter enjoineth them to bee

\* Obedient (ουβαιοι δεσποτοις) to their froward and \* 1 Pet. 2. 18.  
perverse Masters. And S. Paul, That they \* serve \* Ephes. 6. 6.

not onely the eye of the Master, but in singlenesse of  
heart, as unto Christ: For otherwise it is but  
brutish, like to the service of \* Horse and Mule, \* Psal. 32. 10.

whose mouth must be holden with bit and bridle. Last-  
ly, the Context acknowledgeth, concerning  
Subjects; It is necessary you bee subject, not  
for feare onely (namely, of the Temporall sword)  
but for Conscience sake also: that is, for feare of  
Gods vengeance, which this Canon denounceth  
against obstinate Resistant, as is now to be un-  
folded in the last Part of this Canon.

**V They that resist shall receive to them-  
selves DAMNATION.**

**T**HE Transgression being so hainous; the  
Judgement must needs bee grievous;  
and so (indeed) it is thrice-dreadfull: Once,  
as being Intolerable, signified in the word  
(Damnation,) wherein are comprised the two  
Extremities of Punishment: one of Paine,  
which in Scripture is shadowed under the  
Metaphor of Fire; the other the Extremity of



*Continuance*, for Time, expressed in the Epithet (*Everlasting*.) Next is the *Unavoidableness* thereof, as it is in the Canon, (*shall receive damnation*.) To wit, Although such Resistants shall escape the Edge of mortall Powers, yet if Giant-like they will needs (*θεομαχεῖν*) Resist God, he will at length be too hard for them, They shall infallibly Receive Damnation. Lastly, the iudgement will be most just, to make them inexcusable, for so saith the Canon, (*They shall receive damnation to themselves*.) That is to say, they shall be found guilty of their owne Damnation, be their Pretences in this life never so specious, as indeed they are.

For both the *Romish* and the *Conspiratours* hold (respectively) that They, who shall die in their quarrels, are in the state of *Martyrs*. Their Principles likewise agree, first, because they fight for *Conscience-sake*. But why this? Because it is *in ordine ad Deum*. Yet why thus? Because in the *Defence of Religion*. So they. And so their many *Deductions* are so many *Seductions* and *delusions*, as the Canon will particularly and plainly discover. 1. To pretend *Conscience* for *Resistance*, albeit the Apostle here in the ver. 5. teacheth, that it is *Necessary* to be subject even for *Conscience*.



Conscience-sake, 2. *In ordine ad Deum*, that is, In zeale to Gods glory: as if that could be called (*In ordine ad Deum*) which (as the Canon hath it) is a *Resistance against the Ordinance of God*. Lastly, to say that they *Resist for Religion sake*, knowing that *Religion* is in Adherence to the revealed will of God, and that there can be nothing more revealed then this *Canon of a generall Subjection to the Highest Powers*: as also the reason against *Resistance*, in respect of the *Crime*, which is, *Resisting Gods Ordinance*: and much more in regard of the *Judgement*, which is *Damnation* it selfe. And therefore can such *Resistants*, dying in their *Rebellious quarrels*, be but *Black Saints* or *Martyrs*: even as divers in the Church of Rome have been, whom (notwithstanding) their Writers doubt not to *Beatifie* in their Books at large, even in these our times. One I dare be bold to name, *Garnet* the *Jesuite*, whom I knew at his Arraignment to confesse, that he heard of the *Powder-Treason* out of *Confession*, and therefore was worthy of *Judgement*; and at his death he publickly exhorted the *Romish Professors* to avoid all *Acts of Treason*.

Now therefore it being confessed on all

sides, that it is not *Pena*, but *Causa* that *Canonizeth a Martyr*; wee see by this one Instance how prone the *Romish Professors* are to adopt for *Martyrs*, as dying for *Conscience-sake*, those who confessed themselves to die for guilt against their *Conscience*: except, in so Confessing, they do but *Æquivocate*, and if so, then but *Æquivocall Martyrs*.

But to come to the determination of the present Cause, by two *Positions* against as well the intiguled *Romish holy-Leaguers*, as the *Religious Covenanters*. The first is, that the Souldier of Christ his fight, for Religion, must not bee by *Worldly force*. The Word (*Sacrament*) originally among the Romans was a Military terme, signifying the *Sacred Oath* taken by the Souldier, to be faithfull in his service under his Generall; and after translated, to notifie our *Sacred Mysteries*: as, at first, our holy Vow in Baptisme, for professing of our faith in Christ, by holines of life, in imitation of our Generall, Christ *Iesus*. He in generall proclaimeth, saying, \* *My Kingdome is not of this world, else would my servants fight*: which was spoken in relation of himselfe to his *Disciples*; and therefore wee see hee would not have them fight, no not for himselfe.

\* Joh. 18 36.

selfe. But would any of his Servants seeke to destroy Any for his sake? Yes, the Boanerges (*sonnes of Thunder*) would have done so for his honour, when they desired fire from heaven to destroy the Samaritans, for their Contempt against their Master; because of his Religion, for that hee seemed to them to have set his face towards Jerusalem: that is, to have a purpose to goe up to the feast, there to solemnize the worship of the true God; but were corrected by our Generall, saying \*, *Ye know not of what spirit ye are of; I came not to destroy.* Luke 55.56.

And what then shall the Romish answer for their Boanerges, *sonnes of Powder*, who not asking for, but acting and working a Fornace of fire in a hollow vault, as from Hell, to consume at once the King, and the whole Representative state of this Kingdome with a Blast? \* *A Treason* Thuanus an- no Dom. 1609 (saith one of their owne Historians) of all other which either in our, or in any former age hath beene recorded; for Immanity must monstrous; no age ever hatched the like. So he. Or what will they answer for the Patron of all Assassimates, Pope Urbane the second, (called by the Nickname of Turbane) who made a Publike Edict against those who should be excommunicated by the Romish.

\* Bulla Cæne:  
Nos excommu-  
nicamus omnes  
Lutherano, Hu-  
goneto, Zuing-  
lianos, &c.

U ban 2. Pa-  
pa Rescript.  
de Occisori-  
bus Excom-  
municatum,  
ad Godfridum;  
extat apud  
Iyonem.

\* Mar, 26. 52.

Romish Church, (as \* all Protestants are at this day) authorizing Private Persons to murder them, saying, \* *Non enim eos Homicidas arbitramur, quos adversus Excommunicatos, zelo Catholice matris ardentes, eorum quoslibet trucidasse contigerit, &c.* Another servant of Christ, to rescue his Master, would needs draw his Sword, strike and wound an Officer of the Jewes, but was rebuked thus; \* *Put up thy Sword, for All that take the Sword, shall perish by the Sword: (that is) ought to perish by it.*

The second Position may be this, That Christians ought, in defence of their Christian profession, to imitate Christ their Generall in Passive Obedience, in resisting the wicked world, by dying for the Christian Faith and Religion, whensoever the *Alarme* for Martyrdome shall be heard. That one Instruction of Saint Peter may alone suffice for this point: \* *If yee suffer for well doing, happy are yee, for hereunto are yee called, because Christ suffered for us, leaving us an Example, that we should follow his steps.* Here is as much as need be said, Our Vocation whereunto we are called, is to be Souldiers of Christ; our Warfare is by suffering; our Example is our Generall, who suffered for us; our Victory

is

\* 1 Peter. 2. 1.

is, as his was, the conquering of the world by an innocent death; our end is Blessednesse, for so it is said; *Happy are ye*, &c. Upon which Contemplation we are bold to affirme, that we have all this by the *Covenant of Baptisme*, (the Epitome of Christian Religion) which appeareth to differ as much from the *Covenant of violent Resistance*, for Religion, as *Doing Resistance*, and *Suffering*; as *Vocation* and *Transgression*; as *Happinesse* and *Damnation*.

It will be worth the while, to consider the *Good of Persecution*, for the profession of the true *Christian Religion*. The first is that *Miraculous Good*, which experience of the sufferings of the *Primitive Martyrs* hath brought forth, according to that saying, *Sanguis Martyrum semen Ecclesie*; when the more the Christians were *Massacred*, the more they *increased*: and to work a *Multiplication* of Christians, out of the *destruction* of Christians, is not this *Miraculous*?

Another Good, wrought by God through Persecution, is a *vertuous and spirituall Good*, not only by way of *Purging* the Soul, but even by a *Spirituall power* of Christian Warfare; Saint *Peter* speaketh of the first, when he compareth

E

Per-

\* 1 Pet. 1. 7. Persecution to \* *Triall by fire*, and the operation thereof to a *Purging, as gold is purged*. And thus we may say, that thereby the soule of a Christian is *purged* from the drosse of Hypocrisie, and of carnall Securitie. But our Discourse is of a *Spirituall Warfare*, and such are our *enemies*, \* *We fight not against flesh and blood, but against, &c.* And such are our weapons, \* *The weapons of our warfare are not carnall*. And such our *fight*, \* *I have fought a good fight*, speaking of his manifold Afflictions. And such is our *Victory* against all worldly force, even in suffering for the faith of Christ, as is signified by that saying of S. Iohn, \* *This is the victory which hath overcome the world, even your faith*. And indeed this particular vertue and Spirituall Good is graphically set out by the Apostle, Ephes. 6. in the *Panoplie* and Spirituall furniture of a Christian Souldier: for, without that, the lustre of Spirituall Graces could not be glorious, nor the *Girdle of veritie*, which we professe, nor the *Brest plate of righteousness*, and sinceritie of a good Conscience; nor the *Sword of the Spirit*, which is an Animositie in professing the same Truth; nor the *Shield of faith*, which without persecution seemeth  
out-

outwardly conspicuous sometime in an Hypocrite; not the *Helmet of salvation*, which is Hope, by a constant endurance of death in despite of the world, which is Christian Conquest it selfe.

Let not the Conspirators say now (as they "have done) that *They who will not now take* "up Corporall Armes, for defence, of their Religi-  
"on, they endanger their owne Soules: and they  
"are but worldly men; they are Gallio's, not caring  
"for these things; they are like Festus, holding  
"difference of Religion to be but certaine questi-  
"ons, &c. For I shall aske them but two  
Questions, One, whether They, who preach  
Suffering for Religion, rather then to *Rebell*  
agaiſt Soveraigntie; or They that cry, *Arma*  
*virumque*, to preserve their bodies, be the more  
Spiritual, and Consequently more Religious?

Next, I demand, If that Primitive Christi-  
ans (who were innumerable) had turned  
worldly Souldiers, how should they have be-  
come those Souldiers of Christ, in remembrance  
of whom the Church glorieth in her praises,  
and glorifying of Christ, chanting and sing-  
ing, *The noble Armie of Martyrs praise thee!* For,  
I hope, they will not dare to put on the Ro-



mish face, as to say they of the Primitive Church *Resisted not, because they wanted Force*; whereof something is to be said by and by.

In the Interim, I would be rightly understood in this Discourse; My Theme is directly against their pretence of *hostile weapons* for *Defence of Religion*. For though (to speake in the Generall) it be lawfull for one Kingdome to defend it selfe from the Invasion of another Kingdome, for Religion-sake, where they are *pari jure*: yet not here, where the Condition of *Subjects* to the *Higher Powers* is considered. Again, If such a Case (as hath been knowne) be propounded, when the King or State shall give Forts and Castles to some Subjects, for to defend and secure their profession of Religion; I may say, these Cautions fight not at all with my former Conclusion, grounded upon the divine *Canon* of [*Omnis Anima.*] I cannot sufficiently discharge my Taske, except I may be permitted to deliver three *Briefs* (that I may so call them.) 1. A *Briefe Confirmation* of the former Doctrine by Antiquitie. 2. A *Briefe Contestation*, in behalfe of Protestants. 3. A *Briefe Application* to the Persons, who are now engaged.

1. The



1. The ancient *Catholike Church*, and *Mother* of all Churches Christian, ought also to be acknowledged our blessed Nurse, from whom we may suck the most pure and *wholsome milke*, which the innumerable multitudes of *Martyrs, Confessors, and Professors* did; who, notwithstanding the 300 yeeres persecution for Religion, never used, or professed any *forcible defence*.

To this our Romish Adversaries, in behalfe of their *Parricides*, shape us a brieve Answer, to wit, that the *Martyrs*, who suffered for Christ, *did want force of armes* to resist; which their Answer they & themselves knew to be as false, as they would have it seeme to be true: because they could not be ignorant that divers *Apologies* were then made, in the name of all Christians, unto those persecuting Emperours, to remove from them all jealousie and suspicion of disloyaltie, principally by this Reason, that they having warlike power enough, yet held it a part of *Christian Religion* not to make any *forcible resistance*. \* *Tertullian* in his *Apologie* beginneth with an *Abfit!* God forbid (saith he) that the *Christian profession* should revenge it self by humane force, although there can be no war made against us

\* Bellar. l. 5. de Pontific. 7. & 4. Alan in his moderate defence, and others commonly.

\* Tert. Apol. 37.

but we are fit and sufficient for it, if we would seeke revenge of our Persecutors: nor should we suffer our selves to be slaine, unlesse that our Christian discipline and profession, were rather to be slaine than to slay. So He. Saint Cyprian expressed the same

Cyprian ad  
Demetriad.

Nos lesos  
disciplina ultio  
discedit:

inde est, quod  
nemo nostrum

se adversus  
injustam vi-

olentiam,  
quamvis ni-

mius & co-

pissus sit ne-

ster populus,  
ulciscatur.

\* Gr. Naz.  
Orat. 2. in  
Julian.

\* Ambros  
lib. 5. Epist.  
ad Auxent.

Christian profession; \* Not to seek revenge against unjust violence, but to leave that to God: Although (saith he) our people be excessive in number, &c. Greg. Nazianz. expostulateth thus against the persecuting Heathen, \* *Who is there of you all, whose life any of our people have endangered, albeit otherwise boyling with heat and anguish.* Saint Ambrose, when the Emperor invaded his Kyrk, and the people were ready to make rescue, so farre as that the Invaders could not have sustained their force; \* *I restrained them* (saith Saint Ambrose,) *for prayers and teares are my Armour, and I neither ought nor may make other resistance.* In a word, the universall Christian Resolution was proclaimed in these words; *Precamur, Auguste, non resistimus*; which Resolution of *not-Resisting* our Saviour confirmed, when he allowed his *Disciples* not so much as any outward Buckler, excepting onely \* *[Fuga] Flight from one Citie to another*: which is, by consequence, *Flie*; and therefore, *not Resist*.

\* Mat. 10.  
23.

And

And, for the integrity of Subjection and true Loyalty, *Arnobius* was bold to compare Christians with all the heathen Subjects, even in the dayes of Persecution, in the name of the Catholike Church of Christ, in the point of true Loyaltie; *Vos conscios timetis, Nos conscientiam.* Arnob. con Gen- tcs.  
That is, in true sence, *You Gentiles performe your subjection, onely for feare your disloyaltie should be knowne of others, but we Christians feare lest our Conscience should accuse us before God.*

We may seale up this truth with the Confession of three learned Romanists. \* *The Christians* (saith one) *did not abstaine from violence against their Persecutors, because they wanted force.* \* Barclaius lib. 3. contra Monachom. c. 5.  
Another, \* *It is not to be read, for two hundred yeers after Christ, that Christians used any forcible Resistance against their persecuting Emperours, though they were equall in strength: Yea, Christians then held, that hereby they did prove their religion to excell all others in the world, and thought themselves therefore to be called Christians of Christ, whose doctrine this was, to obey Magistrates.* \* Tolestianus lib. 26. de republ. cap. 7.  
A third, and so I have done. *Christian Martyrs* (saith he) *when for multitude, they might easily have conspir'd against their cruell Persecutors, yet bore such honour to Kings & higher Powers, that they chose rather to dye* Cunerus de offic. print. c. 7.

dye than to resist. And the Consequence will hold, that if there were an obligation in Christians, to professe subjection to Heathenish Powers, then are they tyed much more to be subject to Christian Magistrates, seeing that (as the Romish Jesuite Acoſta confesseth) *Omnes fatemur, & est per se certum, etiamſi Barbari ad Christum convertantur, eos tamen non Iure suo ex-cidere.*

Acoſta  
J. ſ. de In-  
dor. ſalut.  
lib. 2. cap.  
7.

The brieſe of *Conteſtation*, in behalfe of Pro-  
teſtants, is an *Additional*, which the Importu-  
nitie of the *Conſpirators* compell me unto, who

\* See his Majesties large Declaration; where the *Confessions* of all the *Reformed Churches* are alleadged against them: *Pag. 4. and Pag. 75.* where the Profession of the present Reformed Churches of *Geneva, Charonton*, and others, is avouched, in utter dislike of this *Scottish Covenant*, as being to them *Offensive*, and *Scandalous*, and of dangerous Consequence to Religion.

\* think they have the *Right hand of fellowship*, in this their *ſiniſter cauſe*, with thoſe who are accounted amongſt Pro-  
teſtants, *Stella primæ magnitudinis, Luther, Calvin, Beza:*

whom we ſhall deſire to anſwer but this one  
Queſtion, Whether they thinke it any-way  
lawfull for any Subjects to make *Reſiſtance*  
againſt ſuch their *Tyrannous Governours*? And  
we may heare *Calvin* anſwer, that \* *The Word*  
of God teacheth, that howſoever it is that *Gover-*  
*nours be eſtabliſhed*, yet being once conſtituted, they  
are to be obeyed, although they do nothing leſſe then  
tha

\* Lib. 4.  
Inſt. ca. 20.  
ſect. 23.

that which appertaineth to their office? and are to be held in the same honour and dignity (in respect of publike obedience) as if they were of the Best, So he, and, for example, he instanceth in Nabuchodonosor, whom God commanded his people to obey, albeit he was a most wicked and cruell Tyrant. Then applying this to all after-times, he admonisheth all Subjects, to have alwayes this Example in their remembrance, to the end, that they may thereby extrude all seditious fancies out of their mindes. And, for a better impressiō; This reverend and pious affection (saith he) we are continually to bear to them, whatsoever they themselves be; because (which I do (saith he) again and again repeat) they carry that person upon them by the will of God, whereon God hath imprinted and ingraven an inviolable Majestie, So he.\*

\* As for Luther, methinks the

Conspirators should stand to their own Collection out of Luther, in his determination of this Question; whether it were lawfull for the Germanes to resist the unjust violence of the Emperour? And his Resolution is, They may: but mark his Reason; Because his authority is limited by a joynt power of the Princes Electors: wherein (saith Luther) it differeth from the Monarchicall Government, such as is that of France and England. And will any Scottish have Scotland go for lesse? Beza also teacheth it to be the duty of every man to suffer injury, and to know that there is no other remedy for those that are subject unto Tyrants, but prayers and tears, and amendment of life. Adding, that in this Case, *A privatis hominibus non multum absunt inferiores Magistratus.* Beza Confess. fidei.

### III. *A brief Application.*

THE necessity of the matter exacteth of me the Heads, which are to be mentioned, and the proportion of a *Sermon* commandeth me not to exceed. Cankred *jealousie*, the Stepdame of *Vnity* and *Verity*, hath so transported these *Conspirators*, that they have all this while laboured, by Arguments taken from the Condition of *Impious*, *Irreligious*, and *Tyrannous Kings*, to justify their *Rebelliousnesse* against the Mirror of Morall *Vertuousnesse*, the Lamp of *Religiousnesse*, and Miracle of *Clemency* and *Patience*: besides, (in Morality) his *Wisedom*, *Temperance*, *Charity*, *Iustice*, *Conjugall fidelity*. Each of which radiant and excellent Vertues, if they were in any one eminently, would greatly enoble him in the estimation of all good men. Now all these being conspicuous in this One, what but black malice can cast a Cloud upon such brightnesse? But to return to the Points in question.

The principall Oppositions they here make, are an Empeachment of their *Liberty* and *Religion*. Where could ever that Exclamation more justly

justly have place, *Prob hominum fidem!* They will grant (I dare say) that his Royall Father, our late gracious Sovereign King JAMES of blessed memory, did deserve, before any other Prince, in his time, the title and sweetest of Posies, REX PACIFICUS; of which the Orator said, *Dulce quidem nomen Pacis, res verò ipsa longè jucundissima.* But our King, having inherited this his Fathers Vertue, hath so improved it by his Clemency, in publishing a late Proclamation, with such conditions of Peace and Graciousnesse towards these Conspirators, as may (if Comparison should be made) put all former ages to silence, and be an astonishment to all Posterity.

We have referred the Contemplation of Religion to the last place, to the end it may be more lasting in the memory of the Hearer, concerning a Prince so Religious in himself, that if we shall call him, *The most Religious of Kings*, what King could take exception? And then so favourable towards the Conspirators themselves, as to yeeld unto them whatsoever They have called Religion, excepting onely the extruding of Episcopacy; which nothing but Ignorance, Irreligiousnesse, and Heresie can condemn,



\* Hieron.

demn, as Unlawfull. Volumes might be written in the Justification of it ; I will Epitomize all that I might say hercof in one sentence of S. Hierome ( a Father who wrote sparingly of the dignity thereof ) who speaking of the Apostles times, saith, that it was then instituted, \* *Vt capite constituto, Schismata tollerentur*. That is, That a Bishop being made an Head in his Diocesse, Schismes, which are ingendred in Parity, might be removed for the time past, and prevented for the future. But how now? *Episcopacy* by these *Conspirators* must be taken away, although two most pernicious Vipers shall take life by this their *Resistance*, *Schisme* in the Church, and *Sedition* in the *Common-wealth*.

The God and Lord of Hosts, who bath in his hands the hearts of Kings and Subjects, still incline our So-veraign to Love and Graciousnesse ; and Those his Subjects to Remorse and Thankfulnesse ; and crown this his Expedition with an honourable, dry, and peaceable Victory, for his Sonne Iesus Christs sake ! To whom be all glory, praise and thanksgiving, now, and for ever. Amen.

FINIS.

